

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

If a midwife is called in to assist at a birth she brings with her the customary confinement chair (Fig. 28); for women in Egypt give birth in a squatting attitude. If this professional assistance is not required the woman squats without the chair, resting her arms on, and pressing upon, a sieve which stands on its side (Fig. 29). She leans forward on the sieve even if she squats on the chair. The sieve, which is a large one such as is employed in winnowing, plays quite an important part in all the birth ceremonies, as will be seen later.

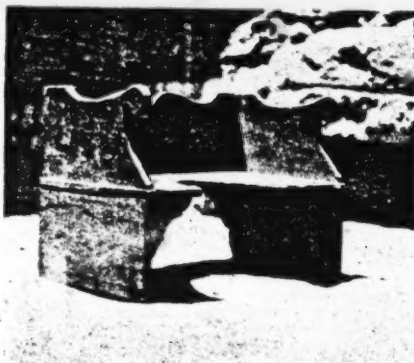


FIG. 28. CONFINEMENT CHAIR



FIG. 29. WOMAN LEANING ON SIEVE

It is the business of the female attendant or midwife, as the case may be, to cut the umbilical cord. The afterbirth is dealt with in a variety of ways. In many parts, if not all over Egypt, it is often called *el-walad et-tāni* (the other, or second, child), and some people regard it as an unfinished infant. If a woman is anxious to make sure of having another child she buries the placenta of the latest-born under the threshold of her house. She does this in order that when she desires to have another child she may be able to step over

the buried placenta three, five, or seven times; for the belief is that its spirit will then re-enter her body, to be born again as a complete child in due course.

If a woman has lost several children in succession at birth she

THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

845 If a woman has lost several children in succession at birth she
 706 thinks that somehow or other she has incurred the anger of her
 704 *ukht* or *karineh*, or both, and that they have taken the children
 791 away from her. She therefore consults a female magician, who
 787 gets into communication with these subterranean beings, and the
 716 mother inquires what she has done to make either or both of them
 714 angry. If the reply is that she has angered one or both of them
 845 she must then bring bread made of wheat flour, of which both she
 and the magician must partake. When the latter eats the bread
 it is as though the *ukht* and *karineh* ate it, for they eat it through
 her. After this ceremonial eating of the bread these beings make
 peace with the mother and tell her that the next time she gives

birth to a child, and on all subsequent occasions, she is to act in the following way. She must bury the placenta, together with a round, bun-shaped loaf of bread, made of wheat flour, called *khubs*, and a *ratl* (rather more than 1 lb.) of salt, in a bowl (Fig. 30), covered by another bowl of the same shape, under the floor of her house. By this means the *ukht* and *karineh* are appeased and will not take the woman's children from her.



FIG. 30. JAR IN WHICH THE PLACENTA, TOGETHER WITH BREAD AND SALT, IS BURIED UNDER THE FLOOR

844 If a woman's new-born children have survived birth the midwife, or a female relative or friend, throws the afterbirth into the Nile or into a canal. As she does this, however, she must laugh or smile, for then the child will always be happy and cheerful. If, on the other hand, she neglects her duty in this respect the child will always have an unhappy disposition.

789 Some mothers, in order to ensure long life to their children, will take a small piece of the umbilical cord and wrap it in a cotton wick. This they put in a pottery saucer-lamp filled with oil, light it, place it in a little boat, and leave it to float down the stream. Others again—and this is a very common practice—will take a short length of the cord and sew it up in a strip of cotton material, which is then hung by a string from the child's neck. After a short time this, together with certain other charms to be mentioned presently, is sewn up in one of the small leather charm-cases, and must be worn throughout life. It is usual to hang

THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

843 stained cloth. When the puppy is killed its head is cut off and
 789 is pickled in salt, and it is worn by the expectant mother till
 825 after the birth of the child, when it is transferred from her to the
 infant. My informant, a clever, well-educated Egyptian lady, told
 me that this is done because dogs are regarded as very unclean
 animals in Egypt, and that therefore the mother's *karīneh* would
 not come near her unborn child so long as she was wearing the
 puppy's head; and for the same reason the child will not be
 attacked or injured by its mother's *karīneh* while it wears this
 charm.

189 Another protective charm, worn by an expectant mother if all
 843 her children have died before they have attained the age of seven
 761 years, consists of the head of a hoopoo, a *dufr*¹ of a snake, a small
 825 piece of the under lip and of the ear of a dead donkey, a *nāb*
 (double tooth) of a camel, a *hirbāyeh* (chameleon), and a written
 charm. All these are hung under her right arm while she is
 pregnant. After her confinement the child wears these charms.

I saw a set of these charms which had been worn by a woman
 during the last two months of her pregnancy, only in addition to
 the above-mentioned articles there were seven threads of silk,
 which may be of any colour. While the expectant mother was
 wearing these charms they were divided into two packets, each
 done up in cotton material. When I saw them they had been
 transferred to her child, and had all been put together into a raw
 hide case. The child must wear this until death, and it is supposed
 to ensure it a long life.

It is the custom in many parts of Egypt for a mother to wear
 an iron anklet if she has lost all, or most of, her children; or one
 of her surviving children may wear the iron anklet, which, it is
 believed, will protect the next child that is born. The photograph
 (Fig. 31) shows two such anklets which I obtained from villages in
 Middle and Upper Egypt.

845 If a woman has arrived at the time for her delivery, and she
 825 suffers much, but cannot give birth, she may sometimes crawl under
 the body of a camel seven times backward and forward, after which
 performance the child is born. The woman crawls from side to
 side of the camel, so I was told, not between its hind-legs.

If a birth is delayed for three days, and the woman is in constant
 pain, her husband must wash his right heel and she must drink

¹ The word means 'nail' or 'claw,' but here, perhaps, a 'horn' of a cerastes.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

the water in which he washed it. Then he must walk round the village seven times, and while he thus perambulates he must not speak to anyone. If a passer-by salutes him in the usual way he must reply by touching his forehead with his hand, but he must not speak.

Immediately this walk is accomplished the child will be born.

It is said that a protracted birth never occurs if the husband and wife are both good people, but even if only one of them is bad it may still occur.

If a woman has one miscarriage after another she places the last-born embryo in a niche in the wall inside the house. She takes a red brick—i.e., a brick that has been baked in a kiln, not sun-baked only—and pounds it into powder. She then mixes honey with this powder and eats some of the mixture every day for seven days. At the end of this period she takes the embryo and puts it

in a bath, into which she steps, and, squatting over the embryo, she washes herself all over her body. The belief is that the spirit of the embryonic child will enter her body again, and that she will immediately conceive. It is necessary, however, that she and her husband should have marital relations directly after she has had the bath. The body of the embryo is put back into the niche in the wall after she has had the bath and before marital relations take place. It remains there always, but soon falls into dust.

When a child is born it is said that a new star appears in the sky. When the child dies, whether in infancy or at any later period, its star falls. Hence the falling stars.¹ The star falls two or three

¹ The same belief is current in some parts of England.



FIG. 31. IRON ANKLETS

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THE FELLÄHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

F
843 minutes after the death of the person to whom it belongs. Another
821 explanation of falling stars is that they are darts aimed by God
761 at unbelievers. Lane says¹ that they are believed to be darts
F thrown by God at evil *ginn*, usually called 'afārīt.

F
846 Certain precautions must be taken by a woman after she has
F given birth to a child. A woman who has lately lost her baby must
F not enter the room where a woman is being confined, nor for seven
F days after this event. If this taboo is broken the woman who was
F last confined will have no milk for her baby.

F
761 If a cat gives birth to kittens which all die, and a woman gives
845 birth to a child in the same house in which the cat had its kittens,
853 the cat must be taken away from the house or the baby may die.
825 Or, if it lives, the mother will have no milk.

F
784 Near a small village in Asyūt Province there is a stone, roughly
853 conical in shape, standing in the fields, and surrounded by what-
778 ever crops are being cultivated on that spot. It is said that men
F have often tried to dig it up, excavating to a considerable depth all
round it, but no one has ever been able to come to the bottom of
the stone. It is believed by the peasants to be very ancient. A
certain mystery is attached to it because of these beliefs, thereby
doubtless enhancing its magical value. Women who have not
enough milk with which to nurse their children visit this stone on
a Friday. They must not speak when coming to and going away
from the spot, and they should step over it, still preserving absolute
silence, seven times. After this, it is believed, they will have no
difficulty in suckling their infant. I was told that the stone has
been visited for this purpose, among others, for a hundred years
or more.

F
846 If a woman or child brings meat to a house where there is a
762 woman who has a child under seven days old that person must
789 not go into the mother's room, but the latter must come out of
853 her room and step over the meat three times. If she does not do
this she will have no milk.

F
846 When a woman who is a Christian, whether Copt, Protestant,
854 or of any other denomination, has given birth to a child her
776 relatives take some wheat flour and mix it with water. Out of
774 this dough they make several crosses, sticking them on the walls
784 of the room occupied by the mother and child. The greatest

¹ The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians (London, 1871), vol. i,
p. 283.

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

number of crosses is placed in that part of the room where the child lies. It is believed that by this means no 'afārit can come near the child and that the mother's *karīneh* cannot injure it.

Every human being is said to be born with a double, which is quite distinct from the 'afrit,¹ and it is called, in the case of a man, the *karin* (colleague, companion), in the case of a woman *karīneh*. The man is always born with his male, as is the woman with her female, counterpart, according to the prevailing belief among most of the *fellāhīn*. The *ginn*, or 'afārit, are often called "our brothers and sisters beneath the earth," but they are separate beings from the *akrān* (plural of *karin*), though the two communities are in touch with each other.

The *akrān* are believed to be of different colours, some being white, some black; their looks also vary, as some are beautiful and some are ugly. This belief is easily accounted for, as each person's *karin* is a facsimile of himself or herself, and doubtless the colours are racial distinctions. The *akrān* are not, I believe, always malevolent, though stories of their mischief-making propensities are commoner than accounts of their good deeds.

Not only do the *akrān* resemble their prototypes on earth in person, but also in character—in fact, they faithfully reflect in themselves all the actions, both good and bad, of their earthly duplicates. Thus, if a man or woman gets into a temper his or her double does the same; if he or she suffers pain and sickness, so does his *karin* or her *karīneh*. This point was brought out clearly one day three years ago when a large number of women had come to see me and to have their eyes doctored. One of them was speaking about her *karīneh*, so I said, "But your eyes are very bad now, what about those of your *karīneh*?"

"Oh," she replied, "her eyes also are bad."

"Poor thing," I said. "But who is looking after her eyes?"

"Why, your *karīneh*, *gināb es-sitt* [honoured lady]," the woman immediately answered.

The following is another example of the intimate connexion between a human being and his or her double. When an argument begins between two or more men or women and a mischievous bystander wants to lead them into a real quarrel he will take two bricks and place them on their ends, each tilted against the other, or he will take off one of his shoes and place it on the

¹ See p. 237.

THE FELLÄHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

789 ground upside down—i.e., with the sole uppermost. This will
 799 make the disputants quarrel violently, and finally they will resort
 796 to blows. As soon as the bricks are taken apart or the shoe
 794 replaced on the foot of its owner the quarrelling will stop. My
 informant himself had witnessed an experiment of this kind. A
 friend of his, seeing two men arguing in the cultivation, placed
 one of his shoes, sole upward, on the ground. The disputants
 immediately started a violent quarrel, hitting out and striking each
 other. Then the friend replaced the shoe on his foot, and at once
 the quarrel ceased.

The belief is that when people start quarrelling their *akrân* come
 up above the ground and quarrel also. They are, of course, in-
 visible, but they see the bricks or the shoe, as the case may be,
 and as long as the bricks remain together, or the shoe remains on
 the ground, they will continue to fight. As long as the *akrân*
 quarrel the people to whom they belong must quarrel too.

796 Again, a man's *karin* marries the *karineh* of his wife, and when
 794 a man or woman dies his *karin* or her *karineh* dies also. I had
 794 been informed of these facts several times, and the reality of the
 795 belief was brought home to me in the following way. An Egyp-
 791 tian friend of mine died some three and a half years ago, and I
 787 was sitting with his wife one day after his death when a woman
 magician came to pay us a visit. I suggested a *séance*, whereupon
 the magician seated herself in a corner of the room and asked for
 a blanket, with which she completely covered herself. Presently
 she clapped her hands two or three times, thus summoning her
 familiar and some of the 'afarit. They spoke to her, and after
 various messages from them had been conveyed to us through the
 magician my friend's wife asked her to inquire what had become
 of her husband's *karin*.

796 "Oh," was the reply, "he is dead also, and your *karineh* is a
 794 widow."

The magician was something of a ventriloquist, and her voice
 changed completely when the subterranean beings spoke through
 her.

796 As I have stated above, the *akrân*, besides being like their human
 794 prototypes in colouring and physical features, also resemble them
 150 in character. Most of the Egyptian peasants are of a very jealous
 disposition, and this quality is strongly marked among the women
 with regard to the possession of children. Childlessness is a real

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

terror to them, and the more children they have the happier they are. They are often very jealous of the offspring of another, and therefore precautions are taken to protect the children from the ill effects of the evil eye, or eye of envy.¹ childlessness is a real 842
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[MSA]
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A woman's *karineh* may also be jealous of the human children, in spite of the fact that if a child is born to a woman the *karineh* or *karineh* of that child represents the offspring of the mother's *karineh*. Various measures are taken to safeguard the human child from the possible machinations of its mother's double. Indeed, the mother herself during her pregnancy must also be protected, for her *karineh*, in a fit of jealousy, may come at night while she sleeps and strike her "on the belly," thus causing premature birth. This is curious, as, presumably, the mother's *karineh* would also lose her child. But, at any rate in some parts of Egypt, the belief is that when a child dies it goes to the mother's *karineh*, who would in this way possess at least one child, even if her own child (i.e., the human child's double) died at the same time as its human prototype. 776
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[MS]

Sometimes the *karineh* speaks roughly to the expectant mother, but refrains from striking her. In such a case the woman will go at daybreak to see a magician or a sheikh, and will ask him to write a protection for her. The protection (or written charm) is the agreement of the queen of the *akran* with King David. For it happened one day that David saw one of them unfasten her hair, and fire was issuing from her mouth. [91]
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So he asked her, "What is your work?"

She answered, "If a woman is pregnant I come by night and strike her on her belly, so that she will give birth to a dead child. And if I do not do this, but allow her to bear the child safely, I may perchance come and strike the baby, or cause a snake to bite or a scorpion to sting it, so that it will die."

Then David said to her, "If this is your work I will kill you," and he spoke threateningly to her.

So she made an agreement with him and said, "If a mother carries your words on her person I will never do her harm."

So David consented to this suggestion and let her go on her way. Therefore if a pregnant woman thinks that she has cause to fear that her *karineh* will do her an injury she will apply for a charm (*higāb*) and wear it till her child is born, when she will give it to 843
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¹ See Chapter XIII.

THE FELLĀḤIN OF UPPER EGYPT

843 the infant, hanging it round its neck till it is seven years old, after
789 which period it will be immune.

776 The *karīneh* seen by King David was the queen of them all, and the promise she gave is binding on all her subjects. She herself is not, according to my informant, the double of any human being; she is by herself, and, like the king of the *akrān*, lives for ever.

796 A woman's *karīneh* may do good or evil to her children till they
774 have passed the age of seven years. She does harm, so I was told,
753 only if the mother has been doing something wrong, or has been jealous of another. For instance, if the *karīneh* clutches a child by the throat it means that the child's mother has been ill-tempered, and so on.

783 A man's *karīn* does not affect his children; it only affects him.
789 If he should lose his temper with his wife or family, or with his friends, or does wrong in any way, and goes to bed unrepentant, he may wake up in the morning and find that some illness has attacked him. This has been caused by his *karīn*. When he is sorry and has expressed his repentance, or has called in a magician, who will give him a charm to wear under his left arm, he will be cured.

753 If a child seems sickly and gets thinner and weaker every day
776 the mother knows that her *karīneh* is trying to draw her child away
774 from her. Various methods are employed to mitigate this evil.
778 Near a small village in Asyūt Province there is a large stone which
755 is called the stone of the Sheikheh Fāṭimeh, who is believed to be buried here. If a child is being drawn away by its mother's *karīneh* the mother will take it on a Friday to this stone, near which she will place the child, she herself staying to watch over it. If the child goes to sleep quietly the mother knows that it will recover, but if it cries and refuses to sleep she takes it home again, knowing full well that it will shortly die. I have myself seen a child lying near the stone fast asleep, with its mother sitting by.

In a village in Middle Egypt there is an old, disused graveyard, crowned by the domed tomb of a celebrated local sheikh. The other graves are now fallen into ruin, and many of them show large, gaping hollows (Fig. 32). A woman whose child is affected by her *karīneh* will take it and place it in one of these cavities, the results being the same as in the case of the stone of the Sheikheh Fāṭimeh. This is a common custom in many parts of Egypt.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927

MR13 Fellahin MR13

Upper Egypt

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

A child under eight years of age may suddenly begin to shake ⁷⁵³ all over, gasping, and catching at its throat, as if it could not ⁷⁵⁵ breathe. When this happens the grandmother, or, if there is no ^[603] grandmother, a neighbour, is called in, and she takes the child, or, if there is more than one child under eight years of age, each one in turn, on to her lap and folds her *gallabiyeh* (native dress) over it. Then she takes a spindle and the implement (*mahalleh*) ^[287] on to which the wool is wound after it is spun, and winds the wool on to it; if there is no wool she will simulate the action of winding.



FIG. 32. RUINED GRAVES, IN THE APERTURES OF WHICH CHILDREN ARE PLACED WHEN AFFECTED BY THE MOTHER'S *KARINEH*

Then she will break both the spindle and the *mahalleh*, and the child will recover.

A woman's *karineh* may sometimes perform a kindly action, for ⁷⁷⁶ a certain woman who is related to a man whom I know always ⁷⁷⁴ declares that her *karineh* is very good to her. This woman has ten boys and two girls, and she is a widow and very poor. Her *karineh*, so she says, often comes to her when she is short of money and cannot do anything to help herself or her children. On one occasion when she was in this plight she heard her *karineh* call her by name three times while she was sleeping at night. Her *karineh* then took her by the hand and led her down the street in which she lived. When she got to the end of it the *karineh* put some money in her hand and left her. The woman then returned to her house.

THE FELLAḤIN OF UPPER EGYPT

776 Another example of kindness shown by a *karīneh* to her human
 779 prototype is described on p. 102 (see also p. 235).
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The following is a translation of the written charm (Fig. 33) worn by an expectant mother who has reason to fear harm being done to her offspring by her *karīneh*. The charm is obviously Coptic, but it is used by Muslim mothers as well as by those professing Christianity. "In the Name of God of Triune nature, He is the Mighty Benefactor, Creator of all the powerful witches [evil women], Whom eye does not see and thought cannot conceive

[mix with], Who knows what is before it is, before Whom the angels tremble with awe, and Whom the devils fear for His Power. All things in Heaven and on earth worship Him, and He is Ruler over all things. O God, by Thy Mighty Name and Powerful Arm

[53]

باسم الله العتيق بالوقا نيم هو الذي اعظم خالقه من الطغرات القوية الذي ولدته
 العيون ولدته الله اعظمه يعلم ما يكون قبل ان يكون شانه الموكنة سلبه
 وثنا فاعيا طيبه سه قدرته يسبح له كل ما في السموات والارض وهو على كل شيء قدير
 اللهم باسمك اعظم وزعامه القوي ونور وجهك الكريم انه تعالى في عهده ما لم يزل
 هذا واعلم ما في بطنا وهو الذي تسبحه سبله اسه اقربته القوية المعونة همه هذا
 القاسم وما فيه ساسه اعظم

توكو باسبل	ي	٣	٤	٥
توكو باسبل	٣	٤	٥	٦
توكو باسبل	٥	٦	٧	٨
توكو باسبل	٦	٧	٨	٩

توكو يا نال بقوة وقوة الله اعظم وعنه اوسع وقوة اوسع
 القوية المعونة وسبله

FIG. 33. CHARM AND CHARM SQUARE WORN BY AN EXPECTANT MOTHER

and the Beneficent Light of Thy Face protect the bearer of this my charm—what is in her womb and who drinks [will drink] of her milk—from the devilish, cursed *karīneh* by the power of this magic square and what of Thy Mighty Name it contains."

The probable meaning of the square in the illustration is, so I was told: "Make it your charge, O Gabrāil, make it your charge, O Mikhāil, make it your charge, O Rūfāil, make it your charge, O Sūriyāl, make it your charge, O Māniyāl, by the power and might of the Mighty God, the Almighty, and His broad Throne, and His dazzling Light, to burn the cursed *karīneh* and cast her into the fire."

776 There is another personality besides the *karīn* or *karīneh*, called
 779 the *ukht* (sister), which is believed to be born simultaneously with
 each human being. There is, however, no *akhhk* (brother), but

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

the *ukht* only is attached to each individual, whether male or female. According to my informants among the *fellāhin*, the *ukht* of each person lives underground,¹ though it comes up on occasions. It resembles in character the human being to whom it is attached. Thus, if a man or woman is good his or her *ukht* is good, if bad the *ukht* is bad also. It is quite distinct an entity from the *karin* and *karineh*.²

The following incidents happened last year in connexion with a woman and her husband, both of whom are well known to me. The woman in question was expecting to become a mother, and she and her husband were having a meal together one day when a cat came into the house and tried to eat some of their food. The woman hit the cat, which disappeared immediately. Being surprised at this sudden and miraculous disappearance of the animal, the woman consulted a well-known female magician who lives in her village. This magician got into touch with the "people beneath the earth," who informed her that the *ukht* of the woman mentioned above was angry with her, and wanted to know why she had hit her when she had come to her house in the form of a cat. The woman then said that she was very sorry, but she had not known that it was her *ukht* who had come in that form. The *ukht* said, "Why did you hit me? Did you not want me to eat?" She also complained that the woman to whom she was *ukht* had no *kūz* for her *zīr*, so that she (the *ukht*) could not drink when she came to the house. (A *kūz* is a large tin mug, and anyone who wants a drink dips it into the *zīr*—a large pottery jar, often kept in a special kind of cupboard, and containing the household water—and drinks from it.) The magician told the woman that she must buy a *kūz* and put it with the *zīr* in the cupboard, which was to be locked so that no one could get at it, and the *ukht* could drink without being disturbed.

It also transpired that the woman's *ukht* and also the *ukht* of her husband were both very jealous, because the man and his wife were always laughing together. The two *ikhwāt* (plural of *ukht*) said they did not like it, and that if this merriment between the pair continued all their children should die. The woman was to laugh only occasionally, and then all would be well. To my own know-

¹ See also pp. 69, 184, 186, 227.

² See my article on the subject, "The *Karin* and *Karineh*," in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. lvi, January-June, 1926, pp. 163-169.

THE FELLÄHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

ledge this woman is of an exceedingly jealous disposition, which no doubt accounts for that particular trait being exhibited in her *ukht*! Her husband is a decent man, but I have had no opportunity of judging as to whether he is jealous or not. However, one must presume that he is so, in view of the fact that his *ukht* appears to possess this quality in so marked a degree!

As will be seen below on p. 186, some of the subterranean beings also have each an *ukht*.

A woman remains unclean for forty days after giving birth to a boy and for thirty days if the child is a girl. I have also been informed that the husband must not enter the room occupied by his wife for seven days after the birth, and that if he wishes to speak to her he must do so from a distance. I am not sure if this is always the rule, but it is so among some of the *fellāhīn*.

A child is not washed at all until the seventh day after birth, and then the face, hands, and feet only are washed. When I en-

deavoured to make the women understand how unhealthy this was they declared that they were afraid to wash a child until it was seven days old, and then only to the limited extent just mentioned, for fear of its catching cold. On one occasion a child was brought to me in a most filthy state, and covered from head to foot with suppurating sores. I told the mother that I would not give her any medicine until she had washed the child. On hearing this she became terribly distressed, and declared that she could not wash it. I remained firm, however, in my refusal to give her anything until she had made the child cleaner. It transpired that the child's father had had spots on his body when he was younger,



FIG. 34. CHILD WEARING FROCK AND HOOD OF SACKING

THE FELLĀHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

854 for washing the child is obtained the night before and put into a
 852 metal jug with a long spout called an *ibrik*. This is stood in a
 metal basin, and both are placed near the mother and child. The
 [197] water is called *moiyeṭ el-malāyikeh* (water of the angels), angels
 [197] meaning in this connexion the *karin* of the father, the *karineh* of
 the mother, and the *karin* (or *karineh*) of the child. The *ibrik* is



FIG. 36. YOUNG MOTHER AND CHILD WITH
 DECORATED IBRIK

decorated in different ways according to the sex of the child. On the occasion of the birth of a boy I observed that a rosary (*sibheh*) belonging to the father was twisted round the *ibrik*, while a handkerchief belonging to the boy's sister was tied round the top of the vessel. On another occasion, when a girl was born, the mother's gold necklace and some brightly coloured silk handkerchiefs were fastened round the *ibrik* (see Fig. 36). This decoration is done, so I was told, to appease the *malāyikeh*, who

[197] would then do no harm to the child or its mother. After the child has been washed a man of the same age as the father of the infant must drink the water that remains over in the *ibrik*. It is believed that this will ensure the child's growing up into manhood.

852 On the seventh night (*i.e.*, the evening preceding the seventh day) two or three large baskets, each containing salt, beans, seed of *helbeh* (fenugreek), lentils, wheat, clover, and maize, are placed in the room occupied by the mother and child. Sometimes one of the baskets may be filled with bread, this being often in the form

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

I suggest that it may possibly be a way of emphasizing the fact that the boy has now definitely joined the male community by undergoing this operation, and that therefore he is no longer under the control of his mother and her female relatives. This is a pure guess, and is brought forward only as a possible explanation of this somewhat curious custom. 852

It is a common belief all over Egypt that the souls of twins when they have passed babyhood often leave their bodies at night and enter the bodies of cats. These animals, therefore, are usually very kindly treated. The following stories were told me in connexion with this belief, and my informant declared that they were true and that he knew the people concerned. 774 825 845

In a small village in Asyūt Province there was a boy who was one of twins, his twin, however, being dead. One night a cat came to a house and clambered on to the flat roof, upon which were some of the usual mud granaries. Some *kishk*, which is made of wheat mixed with milk, dried in the sun, and then cut up, was stored in one of these receptacles. It is often offered to visitors as a great delicacy. The cat knocked the lid off the granary which contained the *kishk*, jumped into it, and began to eat some of the contents. A member of the household happened to go on to the roof, and, seeing the granary uncovered, immediately put the lid on it without noticing that the cat was inside. It remained covered for three days, keeping the cat a prisoner. During this period the boy mentioned above remained motionless and unconscious on his bed, his soul being in the body of the imprisoned cat. [251] [262] [574] 753 774 845

After the third day some visitors arrived at the house where was the granary in question, and one of the family went to get some of the *kishk* out of it to offer the guests. When the lid was removed the cat jumped out and ran away. Immediately after this the soul of the twin returned to his body, and he rose from his bed quite well.

One evening a cat in whose body the soul of a twin happened to be temporarily incarnate was struck on the head by a woman. On the following day the twin in question came to this woman and accused her of striking him the previous night, pointing out to her exactly where she had hit him, and complaining that the blow had caused him considerable pain.

If a cat is killed while the soul of a twin is in its body the twin dies also. For this reason cats are rarely killed. 761 774 825 845

THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

842 Sometimes if a woman has no children her friends will take her
152 to the railway and make her lie down between the lines in order
[827] that the train may pass over her. One reason given me for this
somewhat dangerous procedure is that the fear which the woman
experiences assists conception, for it is said to cause the blood
to circulate quickly through the body, making the womb expand,
with the result that she will more easily conceive. Another ex-



FIG. 45. FERTILITY RITE: LIGHTING THE 'CANDLE'

776
777 planation given me for this rite was that when the mother is thus
frightened her *karīneh* comes to her with the soul of one of her
dead children and causes it to re-enter its mother's body. The soul
of a dead child, so I have been told, goes to its mother's *karīneh*.
Probably these explanations are accepted by some of the people,
but in many cases, I fancy, such rites are merely carried out because
they are customary and recognized cures for childlessness.

764
842 The water with which a corpse is washed before burial is, if
possible, obtained from a mosque or from a sheikh's sacred well.
After the washing is completed a barren woman will seize the
opportunity to step over this water seven times. I was told of one
who resorted to this device and who became pregnant a month
afterward.

CHAPTER VII

DEATH AND FUNERARY CEREMONIES

WHEN a male or female Muslim is dying it is the custom to give him or her some water to drink. So far, despite careful inquiries, I have discovered no definite belief associated with the practice ; all that I have been told is that it is a custom that must always be observed. It may originally, perhaps, have been a purificatory or vivificatory rite. In certain parts of Egypt it is the custom for some of the people sitting or standing near a person who is *in extremis* to squeeze his or her body with their hands, in order to force the soul out of it. Men do this for a man and women for a woman. When death has actually taken place the eyes and mouth of the deceased are closed, and the legs drawn down straight and laid close together. The body is then washed, the water for this purpose being obtained, if possible, from a mosque or from some sacred well or pool connected with a sheikh. In Upper Egypt the corpse may be washed by a *fikh*, who takes as payment all the clothes of the deceased, and also the remains of the soap used in the washing.

As Egypt is a very hot country burial takes place very shortly after death. For instance, if a death has occurred in the morning or early afternoon the funeral takes place the same day. On the other hand, if death resulted from some injury due to accident or an act of violence burial is not permitted till the Government doctor and police officials have made full investigations.

If some one is dying in the village the news soon spreads, and friends and relations flock in crowds to the house. The moment the breath is out of the body female relatives and a number of professional mourners begin to shriek and scream (Fig. 50). Many of them leave the house of death and perambulate the village seven times, uttering the while piercing cries, and waving handkerchiefs, usually black, blue, or green in colour, as they go along. This perambulation of wailing women is not, anyhow at the present day, consciously associated with any idea of driving the spirit or

DEATH AND FUNERARY CEREMONIES

the bier from the ground, and the procession is continued to the grave. As they proceed the men chant the profession of faith: "There is no God but God, and Muhammed is the Apostle of God. The blessing of God upon him and peace, a thousand blessings upon Muhammed." These words are repeated over and over again till the graveside is reached. 764 152 788

It is believed that the dead, while being carried to the grave, can make their bearers walk fast or slowly. If the bearers are made to go quickly it is said to mean that the deceased is a good man or woman, who wishes to go as fast as possible to the tomb, and does not fear the visit of the two angels Nākir and Nekīr, who are believed to come to the tomb on the first night after burial to examine the deceased as to the life he spent on earth and to question him as to his religion. 764 775 787 797

When the bearers suddenly feel themselves being dragged back, or even unable to move at all, it is believed to be that the deceased does not like the spot chosen for the grave.

During a funeral procession in a village well known to me the bearers were not able to advance a step, owing to the dead man objecting to the locality of his grave; however, as it had already been dug, and the bearers were not willing to pander to any such whim, they carried the bier round and round in a circle, thus making the dead man so giddy that he lost his power over his bearers and did not realize where they were conveying him! They were thus able to rush him into his grave without more ado!

On another occasion, in the road running past my house, I saw the bearers being dragged back by constant jerks. The reason given was that the dead woman who was being carried to her grave was upset that her son, a very young boy, was not in the procession. Some one, therefore, had to fetch him, and then the *cortège* proceeded on its way without further interruption.

There appears to be a belief, at any rate among some of the peasants, that a man's shadow is a separate entity. It walks with him through life, dies with him at his death, and then enters with him into his tomb. When discussing this point with some of the people I gathered that no one knew what became of it afterward. I was told that there is no belief, such as is found in some parts of the world, that a man may be injured by some one stepping on his shadow. 774 775

On returning to the house of the deceased the men seat them- 764

THE FELLAHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

idea is, I suppose, that it is on the first camel that the eye would be cast. A pattern is sometimes cut in the hair on one or more of the-legs of a camel. I was told that this is often done to keep the evil eye off that part of the animal's body. For if its legs are firm and well covered with flesh some one may cast the eye over it, and the camel will fall down.

A certain woman in Upper Egypt who was well known to possess the evil eye saw a very fine camel coming along one of the paths in the cultivation. "Oh," she said, "what a splendid camel!" whereupon the animal fell down and broke one of its legs. The truth of this story was vouched for by my informant, who declared that he saw the accident happen and heard what the woman said.

If a child under eight years of age is thin and delicate the mother, or, if her husband will not allow her to do so, a neighbour, will carry it to the bank of the Nile on the first day of the inundation, taking with her some dates and *kishk*.¹ She then stands at the edge of the water, holding the child in her arms, and makes it throw the dates and *kishk*, one by one, into the river. As the child throws in each article it must say to the water, "As you increase in depth, may I increase in strength!" After this the woman undresses the child and bathes it in the river. It is believed that the child will then grow steadily stronger. Angels are supposed to be in the water, and they, it is thought, will take the dates and the *kishk*, and, in return for these gifts, will remove the weakness from the child.

A child may suffer from a cough accompanied by gasping, as if it could hardly breathe. This may happen at any time until it has passed the age of seven years.² To cure it the mother, or grandmother (either paternal or maternal), or a woman friend, takes the child early in the morning to the enclosure (*zaribeh*) in which the sheep and goats are kept in the fields at night. She enters the *zaribeh* and hands the child over to the shepherd, who lays it on its back on the ground, and, taking a knife, places the blunt edge against the child's throat, pretending to cut it. The child will then start crying, whereupon the man will remove the knife and return the child to the woman who brought it.

Sheep are regarded as very gentle animals, and are supposed

¹ Small cakes, sometimes round like large marbles, and made of flour and milk.

² After this age the mother's *harineh* cannot injure it. For fuller information on this subject see pp. 71 ff.

SUPERSTITIONS.

Sheep are regarded as very gentle animals, and are supposed on that account to be watched over by angels, who, on hearing the child cry, will drive away the mother's *karineh*, who has caused the illness by clutching at the child's throat.

If a boy or child under eight years of age cannot walk the mother believes that her *karineh* has sent an *'afrit* into the child. To cure this infirmity she calls in a neighbour to help her. The mother seats the child on the ground, and places in its lap a number of dates and some *kishk*. The neighbour and child then go to the mosque, taking the dates and *kishk* with them. Friday is a favourite day for such a visit, and they arrange to arrive at noon, when the men are praying inside the building. The woman leaves the child seated outside the doorway, and herself retires to a short distance. When the people begin to come out of the mosque they see the dates and the *kishk* spread out on the child's dress, and they all scramble to get their share of them. This frightens the child, and it begins to scream. On hearing its cries the woman who brought it to the mosque goes and takes it up in her arms and carries it home.

It is believed that the screams of the frightened child will scare away the *'afrit* in its legs, and that after this it will be able to walk.

Christians employ the same cure for their children who are similarly affected, and, be it noted, take them to the mosque, not to the church. An old acquaintance of mine, who is a Copt, told me that a child of his was at one time unable to walk, but that it could do so after thus visiting the village mosque. He added that he had taken the child to several doctors in Cairo and Asyût, but that they had been unable to do it any good!

In a large town in Upper Egypt there are two mosques, in both of which there is an ancient pillar. People who are ill with jaundice go to either of these mosques and lick the pillar, and then, so I am informed, speedily recover. I visited one of the mosques and at once detected the ancient pillar, which stands in the main part of the building among the other pillars supporting the roof.

In Egypt, as in many other countries, hair-cuttings and -combings and nail-parings are carefully kept, for if anyone else obtained possession of them he would, by their means, be able to gain an influence over, and so injure, the original owners. Bones from which the meat has been eaten, skins of fruit, and the like are also, for the same reason, either carefully buried or burned in a fire.

F
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[825]
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[753]

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SUPERSTITIONS

It is a common belief in Egypt, as, indeed, in some other countries also, that the soul can leave the body during sleep. It is therefore considered unsafe to wake anyone suddenly, for fear the soul should not have time to return to the body of the sleeper. Such awakening must be done very slowly, so as to give the soul ample time to return. I am not quite clear as to what happens if the soul does not get back in time; probably the sleeper's personality changes, or he becomes imbecile.

There is a strong belief among the peasants that the dead can appear to the living, speak with them, and issue commands. The strength of this belief can be seen in connexion with the sheikh cult, discussed in Chapter XV. There are a number of ghost stories current in the country, the ghost being usually regarded as the dead man's *'afrit'*, which, as will be seen in the following chapter, is not the soul, but a separate entity. The two following ghost stories may interest my readers, the second ghost having only just begun to 'walk' a week or so before I arrived at the dead man's village.

The engine which controls the machinery for irrigating the fields of the rich *'omdeh'* (headman) of a certain village is worked by steam, and the boiler is covered with a large sheet of iron. The steam is shut off late every evening, at about seven-thirty, and is turned on again at daybreak. To turn it on a man has to stand on the sheet of iron above the reservoir. One day the son of the assistant engineer made a mistake, saying that he had turned on the steam when he had not done so. The consequence was that more was generated than the boiler could contain, and it promptly exploded. An unfortunate man who was standing on the iron sheet was crushed against the ceiling and killed instantly. One night later a man who was sleeping in the engine-room with some of his fellow-workmen began to call out. His companions were aroused from sleep by his cries, and asked him what was the matter. He told them that he had seen the man who had been killed, and that he was wailing and crying "*Akh! akh! akh!*" ("*Alas! alas! alas!*"), and also had tried to poke out his (the speaker's) eyes with two of his fingers. Since this incident a great explosion is heard in the engine-room every night at twelve o'clock. The first time it was heard the guards and other people thought that there had been another accident, but, when they went to look, nothing had occurred, and the engine was not working. The

'AFÄRIT

boy fell to the ground, where a stone struck one of his eyes and destroyed the sight. The boy then knew that the donkey was really an 'afrit which had assumed animal form, and presently he heard it saying, "Don't come here again. If you do I will injure you!"

Up to the present time the boy, who is now a grown man, has never dared to return to this church for fear of the 'afrit. He told my informant this story himself, and swears to the truth of it.

The 'afrit, as I have already explained, sometimes leave their subterranean home and come above ground. It is therefore considered dangerous to stamp on the ground, to strike it with a stick, or to throw anything violently on it. Such acts should be especially avoided at night, when the 'afrit are believed to come up in large numbers. If a man, therefore, has to walk some distance at night he is glad if he can get a fisherman to accompany him, for he believes that then no 'afrit will come near him. The 'afrit are afraid of fishermen and of their nets, and when they see these men throwing their nets they run away in terror. One woman told me that the 'afrit fear that they may get caught in the nets.

A few days after I had left a certain village in Upper Egypt a boy who was employed by the 'omdeh (headman of the village) was in the building containing the machinery installed by the 'omdeh for pumping up water for irrigating his fields. It was at night, and for some reason or other the boy happened to stamp on the ground with his feet. Soon after he lay down to sleep, but was aroused by an 'afrit who tried to pluck out his eyes. The boy cried out, "Oh, leave me, and forgive me!" But the 'afrit refused, saying that when he had stamped on the ground he had injured the head of one of his children. The boy cried out, and then, being a Copt, crossed himself, whereupon the 'afrit disappeared.

That 'afrit are capable of kindly actions is shown in the following belief. A boy who is still uncircumcised may be mysteriously carried away when sleeping beside his mother at night. He will be brought back to his sleeping-place on the same night, and on the following morning his mother will find that he has been circumcised, the operation having been much better done than if it had been performed by the village barber; moreover, the wound will be found to have already healed. In such a case it is believed that the boy has a good *karin* who has brought good 'afrit to perform this painful operation painlessly.

'AFĀRIT

years of age, who used to be a village guard. He told a friend of mine that he knew that the ground on which the 'omdeh's engine now stands used to be the haunt of 'afārit, for, when doing patrols at night round the outskirts of the village, he had sometimes seen on that spot a plough pulled by oxen and driven by a man, or sometimes a threshing-machine with the oxen and their driver, all made of fire. As this guard approached them he would cross himself, whereupon the 'afārit who had assumed these forms would disappear. C
625
C
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625
C
788

If a woman fears that 'afārit are in her house she puts a *kulleh* of water on the floor of one of the rooms, and near it she places some bread and salt, leaving them in this position during the night. This protects the whole house, and effectually prevents any 'afārit from entering it. F
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782

Nightmare and sleepwalking are supposed to be caused by 'afārit, and if a child suffers from either of these complaints it is a sign that an 'afrit has entered its body. This may have happened because the child has done something wrong; perhaps, so it was suggested to me, it had plucked some of the ears of corn from a field belonging to a neighbour. If a Coptic child sleepwalks or has nightmare its parents call in a priest, who tells them to bring seven *kanādil* (old-fashioned saucer-lamps, with floating wicks). The priest then asks for a jar of water, and prays seven special prayers, burning incense meanwhile in a censer. As he finishes one prayer he puts out one lamp, after a second prayer a second lamp, and so on, till all the prayers are said and all the lamps extinguished. He now tells the parents to place the jar of water on the roof of the house, where it must remain for one night. On the following morning the child is bathed in the water, after which, it is believed, he will be cured. F
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808
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784
685
C
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513
782
755

Among the Muslims if a child is affected in this way the parents go to a magician, who writes a charm of protection for the child to wear. F
789

In addition to his soul (*rōh*) every human being is believed to possess an 'afrit which leaves his body at death. In certain circumstances it may be a menace to any person who comes near it. Animals also have an 'afrit. This belief especially attracted my attention recently. A little dog which had been badly injured took refuge in the bathroom of my house. My servant told me that he was sure it could not live, and that, before it died, he must F
774
775
825

THE FELLÄHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

festivities connected with the birth of a child took place in ancient Egypt, certainly during the Middle Kingdom, fourteen days after birth, a mother being accounted unclean until she had purified herself with a fourteen days' purification.¹

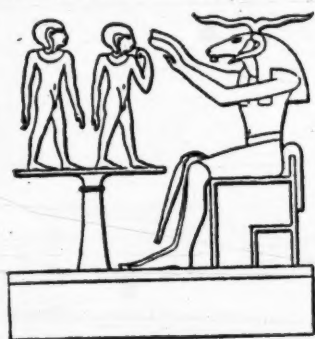


FIG. 158. KHNUM MODELLING THE ROYAL CHILD AND ITS KA
After A. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, Pl. LXIII.

I have stated on pp. 67, 99, 100 (see also p. 63) that a belief in re-incarnation exists among the *fellāhīn*. It seems also to have existed among the ancient Egyptians, anyhow in the late New Kingdom, judging from certain episodes in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*.²

The statements on pp. 69 ff. about the *karīn* and *karīneh* recall the ancient Egyptian belief about the *ka*. The modern idea that the *karīn* is born at the same time as

its human counterpart calls to mind the reliefs in the temples of Luxor and Deir el-Bahri³ depicting the god Khnum modelling



FIG. 159. MAN HOLDING A BASIN AT THE SLAUGHTER OF A VICTIM
After A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part I, Pl. XI.

the royal child and its *ka* (see Fig. 158) and their simultaneous birth.

In modern Egypt a child is suckled for two years (p. 81); in

¹ A. Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

² A. Erman, *ibid.*, pp. 158 ff.; see also Herodotus, ii, 123; W. Spiegelberg, *The Credibility of Herodotus' Account of Egypt*, p. 32.

³ A. M. Blackman, *Luxor and its Temples*, p. 165.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANALOGIES

the funeral procession of a Nineteenth-Dynasty priest named Kynebu in his tomb-chapel at Sheikh 'Abd-el-Kurneh.¹ The custom of slaughtering an animal at the graveside on the occasion of a funeral (p. 110) is, of course, exceedingly ancient, and is referred to in the *Story of Sinuhe*: "slaughtering is made at the door of thy façade-stela."² Was the false door, one wonders, sprinkled with the victim's blood?

With the statement on pp. 113 f.,³ that on returning from the funeral "the men seat themselves outside the doorway, where they are joined by friends,"

is to be compared a passage in a letter written to his dead wife by an official of the late New Kingdom: "I bewailed thee exceedingly along with my household in front of my dwelling."⁴

The rectangular brick superstructure of a modern grave, with its vaulted roof and door-like recess

at one end (p. 116), closely resembles the superstructure of the ordinary middle-class grave of all periods (see, for example, Fig. 164).⁵ Ancient examples of the large burial chamber with vaulted roof described on p. 116 are also to be found.⁶

The idea that a man's shadow is a separate entity (p. 113) also prevailed in ancient Egypt. A vignette in an Eighteenth-Dynasty copy of *The Book of the Dead* depicts a man's shadow

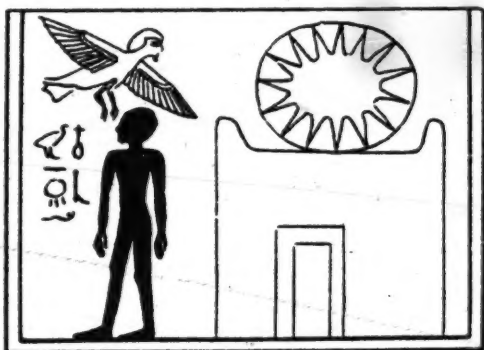


FIG. 165. SHADOW AND BAI OUTSIDE THE DOOR OF A TOMB

After E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie*, vol. I, Pl. CIV.

¹ J. G. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1878), vol. iii, Pl. LXIX.

² A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 24; A. M. Blackman, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. x, p. 199.

³ Cf. also pp. 121 f.

⁴ A. M. Blackman, *Luxor and its Temples*, p. 25.

⁵ E.g., W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan* (London, 1914), Part II, Pl. XV; D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911), Pls 77-82.

⁶ D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *op. cit.*, Pl. 84; H. Schaefer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, p. 266, Fig. 2.

THE FELLÄHİN OF UPPER EGYPT

and his *bai* (soul, or manifestation¹) outside the door of his tomb² (Fig. 165).

The weekly visit to the cemetery, the *Ṭala'*, described on pp. 117 ff., and the performances there during the Muslim festivals of *el-'Id eṣ-Ṣughaiyar* and *el-'Id el-Kibīr* (pp. 259 ff.), and on the Coptic festival of *Yōm el-Ghiṣās*, are all undoubtedly survivals from the past. From the earliest times it was the custom to honour the memory of the dead at certain definite periods by celebrating the funerary liturgy in the tomb-chapel or at the graveside. This liturgy consisted mainly in presenting the deceased with numerous articles of food and drink, which at an early date acquired a mystical significance. But through the whole of Egyptian history the idea persisted that the dead must somehow or other be adequately supplied with food. The name given to this ancient rite was *pṛt*, meaning 'the coming forth' or 'going up,' and the word *Ṭala'* means exactly the same. From the same root is derived *ṭulū'*, used in the combination *ṭulū' eṣh-shems*, 'sunrise.' *Pṛt* has also this meaning in Egyptian. Both the Egyptian *pṛt* and the Arabic *ṭala'* are the ordinary verbs used, with the meaning 'to rise,' of the sun.

In ancient Egyptian *pṛt* (Arabic *ṭala'*), in its technical sense of 'ascent,' 'going up to,' or 'procession to' the necropolis, nearly always appears in the combination *pṛt-r-hrw*, a 'coming forth,' or a 'going up at the voice'—i.e., with offerings to the cemetery, the 'voice' being originally that of the living king (Horus),³ bidding the offerers draw nigh to the grave of his predecessor, the dead king (Osiris). Later, of course, the 'voice' was the voice of the funerary priest who replaced the king, Horus, at the funerals of his subjects, or who acted as the king's deputy at the royal tombs.

In the tomb-chapel of Methen, who lived at the end of the Third Dynasty, the following formula occurs :

Grace granted by Anubis who presides in the necropolis, a coming-forth-unto-the-voice there by all his [i.e., the deceased Methen's] villages [that formed his funerary endowment] on the *wag*-festival, . . . the first day of the month, the first day of the half-month, the first day of every week.⁴

¹ A. H. Gardiner, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xxxvii, p. 258.

² E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie*, vol. i (Berlin, 1886), Pl. CIV; S. Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. viii, pp. 386 ff.

³ Nina de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhät*, p. 85.

⁴ A. M. Blackman, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. iii, p. 32.

THE FELLÄHIN OF UPPER EGYPT

or other amulets hung round the neck.¹ The collection of charms used by mothers to protect or cure their infants, referred to in note 1 below under the title of *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind* (*Spells for Mother and Child*), dates probably from the Hyksös period (1788-1580 B.C.); it is preserved in the Berlin Museum. The object of one of the charms in this ancient collection² was to protect a child from a spirit of the female sex (possibly, according to Professor Erman, a dead woman), which was trying to take it from its mother. With this idea may be compared, perhaps, the modern one that a child's falling ill is due to the mother's *karineh* wishing to draw it away from her (p. 72). The spell in question reads as follows:

Run out, thou [fem.] that comest in the darkness, that slinkest [?] in with nose behind thee and face averted, that failest in that for which thou hast come.

Hast thou come to kiss this child? I will not suffer thee to kiss him.

Hast thou come to kill him? I will not suffer thee to kill him.

Hast thou come to harm him? I will not suffer thee to harm him.

Hast thou come to take him away? I will not suffer thee to take him from me.

I have made his protection against thee with 'sy-herbs which make . . . [?], with onions which harm thee, with honey which is sweet for mankind and bitter for the dead, with the . . . [?] of the *ibdw*-fish, with the jaw-bone of the . . . [?], with the back of the perch.

FIG. 186. IRON
SICKLE OF ROMAN
PERIOD

After *A Guide to the
Third and Fourth
Egyptian Rooms in
the British Museum*
(London, 1904), p. 41.

My accounts of the eye-specialists on pp. 201 ff. and 211 f. may be compared with Herodotus' statement on the subject of Egyptian medicine³: "Each physician treats a single disorder, and no more. All places abound in physicians; some physicians are for the eyes, others for the head. . . ."

The professions of magician and physician were no less closely

¹ A. Erman and H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 408; A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 30, 32, 35, etc., and *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 218 and note 6.

² A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, pp. 11 f.

³ ii, 84.